power to use the armed forces of the United States when he thinks fit. Will not our peace and security be entirely at the mercy of his temper, his ambition, or he superspaires "es?"

This is not so dangerous asys Mr. Douglas, for "not every belligerent act leads to war." No, certainly not, but if there is anything in the world and to lead to war it is a heligerent act. It is true, according to Mr. Douglas bill, the President will have to report to Congress "at the earliest practicable moment." he

to war it is a beliggerent set. It is true, according to Mr. Dougles' bill, the President will have to report to Mr. Dougles' bill, the President will have to report to Congress "at the earliest practicable moment;" but will not the President be able, by an indirect near of the array of Lavy, to involves the country in war, to array nation against nation, long before that "earliest practicable moment arrives? It is true Congress will, after a while, have power to stop the war; but are you not aware that curs is a Government which depends not always on a calm public opinion, but sometimes also on the passions of the people? If once, by the measures of the President, we are in active hostilities—if once the intoxicating music of artillery has started the warlike enthusiasm of the people—if once the fighting spirit of the masse is aroused by the sight of blood, will not then what was commenced against the judgment of the prope pushed on by their passions?

Mr. Dougles urged his proposition as often as there was a speck of war in the horizon. But those difficulties with Great Britsin and the Central American Republics, for the presecution of which he demanded that the Executive be invested with power to adopt warlike measures, have been settled by diplomatic transactions. Our peace ful relations with foreign Governments were hardly isturbed. Not a drop of blood was shed. The hone of the Republic remained intact, the Constitution inviolate. Suppose Mr. Douglas s notions had prevailed and be had been President of the Custed States, clothed with the discretionary power be demanded. I sak you most seriously, and invite you to ponder the question, what would have been the result then? How many outrages, read or imaginary, would be have provided with the army or navy, "without waiting for the action of Congress?" How often would he, uar strained by Congress have deemed in stent redress pec sary? Into how many follies often would he, turn strained by Congress have deemed instant redress nee sary? Into how many follies would his childish hatred of Great Britain have betrayed him? In bow many wars would his sensation policy have involved us within these list few years? With the blood of your sine, you would have paid the price of his indiscretions. Let the President have the power that Mr. Douglas demands for him, and the cuestion of peace or war, of prosperity or develation. question of peace or war, of prosperity or desolation, will depend upon the temper of a slogle individual. Put Mr. Douglas in the Pres dential chair, and give him, as he demands, the power of the French Euperor, and he will furnish not the prudence, but certainly

the arbitrariness.

But he contends that our Executive must have that But he contends that our Executive must have that power, because the Executive of every other nation has it. Indeed! Doee he not know that just there is the difference between our syst m of Government and those of other countries! Did it never event to him that the establishment of imperial power it this Republic would require the entire everthrow of our yetem of checks and balances? Does he not know that even in the han's of a British Premier this power is less formidable t an it would be in the hands of a President, since the British Premier is subject to the in mediate control of a preliamentary majority, and liable to be voted down and divised at any moment, which the President and his Scoretary of State are which the Presi ent and his Secretary of State are not? Ob, "greatest of living statesmen," if thou dost not know that, every sweet little school boy can dot not know that, every sweet little school boy can tell thee. But there you see him. "in the fullness of "his imporance of this vast subject, in the maturity of "his incapacity to apprehend its merits," as Lord Brorgham would style it, at a opting to trample down the constitutional safeguards which surround the lib-erties, and the security of the nation. Such ignorance is dengerous when couled with such pretensions. Let that "greatest of living "sitesmen" study a while the jecular features which distinguish the republican roverment of America from the monarchical goverement of America from the monarchical gove summents of the old world Give him an opportung of learn that an American President or Secretary to learn that an American President or Secretary of State was never intended to be a B itish Premier or a French Emperer Let sim learn to appreciate that system of nice balances of power in our Constitution which is the principal safeguard of our freedom and security. But don't peak of placing him, such as he is, in the office of higher responsibility. By our want a sofe man to administer your laws, select him among those who understand their spirit; not one who means to cushion his Presidential that with imperial powers, and who would take delight in playing like a reckloss how with the club of He cules.

It is my suspicion that Mr. Douglas tried to effect that central ration of power in the hands of the President, expecting to be President himself, and that then he would use it for the purposes of plunging the construction warlike en expresses to result in the conquering of Culia and a past of Mexico, which policy of conquest would relieve him of the difficulties in which his

of Cula and a part of Mexico, which policy quest would relieve him of the didicul les in w quest would relieve him of the didficulties in which his position upon the Slavery question has involved him. I give this as my suspicion. You may judge for yourselves whether it is supported by any material evidence growing out of his pase career and present situation. But the measure I urged at d advocated is so dangerous and detectable in litself, that no ulterior design out make it more damnable. It certainly is one of the acts dictated by the evident desire to retrieve the lost favor of the Slavery propagandists by outdoing the n in everything not immediately connected with the Territoria question. This may be considered a grave charge, and I will substantiate it at once, for in these times Judge Dougles a statemanship shines with more it an ordu are laster. I'an ordu art inter.

John Brown had made his insurrectionary atten-

norm frown had made his insurrectionary attempt in Vignia. The Republicans openly disapproved of the act, and denounced him in good faith, as they would disapprove and denounce every interference with the laws and institutions of other States, as a viowith the laws and mentalized at the lation of the spirit of our institutions, which furnish for every evil a lawful remedy. But the South was excited, and Douglas saw a chance for hinself. He ented, and 150guas saw a character of miscal. The pounced upon it with simost indecent eager-eas, morbedly anxious to sufficipate the action of the Committee on the Harper's Ferry affair, which was expected to offer propositions applicable to the case. On the 22d of January, 1860, he introduced the following resolu-

offer propositions applicable to the case. On the 22d of January, 860, he introduced the following resolution into the Sensite:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to rap it while for the protection of each State and Territory in the Union against invarianty in estate of each state and praishment of construction or combinations in any State or Territory with in ent to invade based, it is belief to government, property or institutions, of any other State or Territory of the Union.

The true intent and measuring of this resolution was made plain by the speech with which the Judge as companied it. After having endeavored to show that the Constitution confers upon our Federal Government the power to co what the resolution contemplates, he tier defines his object as follows:

"Six I had that it is not only necessary to use the military power when the settal case of invadou shall occur but to an invite the judicial department of the Government to suppress all complicates and combinations in the several States with industrial the invade a State, or no less or disturb its government, its peace its ciprons it is percer of its institutions. You want suppress the comprising the combination to do the act, and then you will suppress if in accase:

On stiffician be executed in good facts, as as to punish and suppress the conspiration factor to invade a State, or to mide this intuitions and its givernment. The leve this can be effectually dure by substituting the United States Cor its in his several state to take jurisdiction of the oldense a distribution of the distributions can be and ought to be suppressed and punish the violation of the law with apprepriate numbers."

So it was a substitute way in which the combinations can be and ought to be suppressed and punished. Now what see and where are the combinations.

So much about the way in which the combinations can be and ought to be suppressed and puciahed. Now what are and where are the combinations?

"Str," said the Judge, "what were the causes which produced the Happer's Ferry charge! Without stopping to adding the evidence in detail, I have no be stancy in expressing my firm and deliberate conviction that the Happer's Ferry crime was the natural logical, and inevitable result of the devictions and texabings of the Repartition party as expensed and enforced in their partiers, their parties presses their pamplets, and backs, and specially in the expected of their leaders, in and out of Congress.

"The great principle that underies the Republican party is viced, irreconcilude, eternal wafare upon the institution of American Savery with a view to its ultimate extinction throughout the land."

This language is plain. There is the dangerous combination with intent to carry on a violent warfare

This language is plain. There is the dangerous combination with intent to carry on a violent warfare agains' the institutions of other States. Now, let us see what the Judge is going to do with the unfortunate or misration to which, I am sorry to say, most of us belong. "Sir" says the Judge, "give us such a law as the Constitution contemplates and authorizes and I will show the Sonator from New York that there is a constitutional mode of represents the respective conflict. I will open the prison-door and show the comparince against the period of the Republic and the comestitutional mode of the consist transportation of the states to select their cells, wherein to drag out a miserable life as a punishment for their crimes against the peace of society."

tracquility of other States to select their cells, wherein to drag out a misemble life as a punishment for their crimes against the peace of scelety."

But, in order to remove all doubt as to what the conspiracy and combination is, he proceeds:

"Can any may asy to us that although this outrage has been perprisated at Harphy's Ferry, there is no dauger of its root-rece? Sit, is not the Republishment puty still embodied organized comment of success and defiant in its pretensions? Does that not move hed and proclain the same creed as before the invasion? Those decorrines remain the same. These teachings are being poured into the milines of men throughout the country by means of specicles, and pariphlets and books, and through parilyan presees. The causes that produced the Hurper's Ferry in vision are now in solive operation.

"Mr President the indeed of preserving peace is plain This system of sectional wrights must cesse. The Conditionion has given the power; and all we ask of Congress is to give the means, and we, by indictinents of the constitution in the Federal Courts of the secretice as will arrise tear into the hearts of others; and there will be an end of this crusade. Six, we must check it by crushing out the conspiracy and combination; and then there can be safety.

I confess, when I read that speech, and the resolution in defence of which it was made I stood horrorstruck—not as though I had feared that a Congress could be found so degenerate as to pass such a law, but became a Senator had been found who had the

struck—not as though I had feared that a Congress could be found so degenerate as to pass such a law, but became a Senator had been found who had the effontery to advocate it in the open halls of an American Legislature. This is not a mere figure of speech. I do not exaggerate. Only look at it. A treasmable bloom by has been committed. The off-inders are purished. Mr. Douglas introduces a proposition for a law is tended to prevent a repetition of the attempt. He pretends to discover the origin of the treasonable attempt in the originess and doctrines of a great national party. He charges that party with a ging a sectional wasters and crusade against the institutions of some of

the States, and declares that this crussde is carried on by speeches, samphiets, books, and partiess prosess—by ideas being poured into the minds of the peopl. He declares that there can be no peace as long as those care a which produced the treasonable attempt romain active op ration. He proposes to check this crusade by crushing out the conspiracies and combinations by which it is carried ou; and the means by which he intends to crush them out are indictments and course increasing the Federal Courts, making such examples of tions in the Federal Courts, making such examples of the leaders as will strike terror into the hourts of

which it is carried ou; and the means by which is inverds to crush them out are indictaments and convictions in the Federal Courts, making such examples of the leaders as will strike terror into the hourts of others. He proposes to open prison cells for them where in to drag out a miserable life. This is the proposition submitted to the Senate of the American Republic—not by the King of Naoles, not by the Virier of the Turkish Sultan, not the Chief of Police of the Republican party against these accusations. They are of so ridiculous, so preposterous a nature, as not to call for the serious notice of any candid man. But no matter, Let us embody the intent and meaning of Mr. Douglas's resolution and speech in the shape of a law. It will probably read as follows:

"Secritical any State of Portitory shall university combain or compire tog ther, with intent to lavede, assall, or moinst, the Government inhabitants, property, or institutions the above, as a foresid, shall course, article, or institution, the state of Territory, or if any preson at tempt, but in a state of Territory, or if any preson at tempt, shall have the solves, and the state of Territory, or if any preson at tempt, shall have the continuous and institution of the product of the life of the state, having juriadiction thereof, shall have the continuous and the state, having juriadiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding—dollars, or be imprisonment, during term not less than—years not receeding—pears; and further, at the discretior of the Court may be holden to find security for his good behavior, in such am, and for such time as the Court may direct."

This section would cover the conspiracies and combination's themse lyes. But Dong as ease that such treasonable things will be repeated as long as the causes from which they spring remain in active operation. He, therefore, wants to crush out the causes; which may be done by section second:

"Suc 2 And be it further enacted, That if any person labalitant of any one State or Territory

fixent. Then this S-dition Law was enacted only for a very limited period, after which it was to expire, while Mr. Douglas intends the Conspiracy Act to be a permanent institution of the country. These two features make the Sedition Law eminently liberal in comparison with Douglas's Conspiracy bill.

There may be some old man among us who remembers the time when the Sedition law was enacted—he will tell you that the sace act which was intended to prevent insurrection, led people upon the very brink of an insurrection; he will tell you that patriots, harrified at that time for the libertles of the people, thought of the necessity of a second revolution. The excitement of those days has left its monument in the history of this country—that monument is the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, drawn by Jefferson and Madison These resolutions were the loud outcry of patriotic hearts against the first flagrant attempt at the centralization of Governmental power. The Demogratic party has indowed them again. It claims Jefferson as its father. What would Jefferson, the author of the Kentucky resolutions say of his degenerate offspring who have nominated a man for the Precidency who attempts to repeat the most tyrannical and outrageous attempts to repeat the most tyrannical and outrageous act of the Federalists in the same outrageous form? Would be not tell them that they must be missaken in

Let us show the consequence of the measure, and you will understand why its forerunner created such serious alarm and appreheusion. So far our political parties have been fighting with arguments. The victors obtained postession of the constitutional power, and ado inistered the Government, but had no power to violate the rights and liberties of those that were dafeated. However the contest of parties may have ended, the peace of the conury was never materially disturbed, for the vanquished knew that their individual security was not impaired. Such was the uniform result of the fight with arguments. But let the political parties once begin to fight with indictments—put into their hands the two-edged weapon of persecution, and whatever deluaion you may indulate in, the liberties of the people will be no more secure in America than they are in America and Maples.

There is one kind of despotism more terrible than that of kings—that is the despotism of political parties. Their teneency is not only to defeat but to oppress their opponents. However pure their first intentions may be, they will in the heat of political contest, insensibly drift into that irresistible current. There is but one way to preven this; it is that the means of oppression and persecution be carefully kept out of their reach by way to preven that it is that the means of opposed and persecution be care fully kept out of their reach by strictly limiting and circumscribing the powers of the Government. Do not say that these dangerous to dencies may be averted by a change of parties. It is represent that engenders an oppressive spirit; upon persecution follows revolution and revenge—that is, persecution follows revolution and revenge—that is, new persecution, and so on. You may know where it bears, but not where it will end. The framets of our Constitution understood that well; they defied the crimes of which the Federal Courts shall have jurisdiction with scrupulous nicety. They said down the doctrine that treason against the Government shall cousist in levying war ag inst the United States, not in giving aid and comfort to their on mice, and nothing class; and that no person shall be convicted of treason unless upon the testimony of two witnesses, not to the "combina ion with treasonable intent," but to the overt act, thus carefully guarding intent, but to the overt act, thus carefully guarding against the idea of constructive treason. They knew well that the usual rales of legal construction in regard to common crimes should not be applied to political matters in which conscience and the freedom of opinion is involved, because justice in one might become opposesion and tyranny in the other case. But even these cane into nale safeguards appeared so insufficient to the people of those days that in the amendments to the Constitution they surrounded the fundamental rights and liberties of the citizen with a new bulwark of emphatic declarations. Hence this fierce judigment is his and interties of the dutien which heree indignant, there promising opposition to every measure tending of give latitude to the power of the Government over dividual rights.
Judge Douglas reems to have no conception of the

ground work upon which the safety of popular liberty rests. Let him not pretend to say that he mended the law for the prevention of political offenses, for he ought to know, as every well-informed man knows, that of all the laws in the world which fasten the chains cought to know, as every well-informed man knows, that of all the laws in the world which f aten the chains of despothem upon mankind there is hardly one which does not rest upon the pretext that portical offenses must be 1 even'ed. Prevertion of mischief was the saare with which people in all ages and all constries have been prevented from ascerting their liberties. Prever tive haws are the poison with which Freedom is killed. It is said that years ago, an American citizen met Prince Metternich in the Chy of Brussels. You remember who Prince Metternich was. The history of the world hardly knows the minister who had to shawer for more tears and curses of crasped nations. The American showed him the Constitution of the United States, and asked his opinion of it. "This 'Constitution,' said the Prince, "Isoks but one thing, and I can govern the Empire of Austria with it." What is that?" saked the American, with as onlahment. "It is the power of the central Government to "puse preventive laws." What a pity Prince Metternich is de-d. In Judge Doughus he would have found the man of his heart. Put the Judge's Conspiracy Bill upon our statute book, and declare it Constitutional, and the deflecency is supplied. Prince Metternich is willing to govern Austria, after his fashion, with the Constitution of the United States. Place the power to indict and punish for combinations and for criminal intent in political matters into the hands of our Festeral Judges, those petty pro-consult who feel big when they can show their power, and we shall soon have a little Star Chamber in every little judicial district, a little Fonquier Traville to act as prosecuting actorney, and a little Jeffres to pass the sentences of the Court; there will be a Government spy to smell out treasonable combinations wherever these of four of them are messabled, and the cells of your prisons filled with men who have the spirit to think and speak about Slavery as Washington, Jefferson, Macison, and Franklin thought and spoke. And there are those who dare that of all the laws in the world which faten the chains of despottem upon mankind there is hardly one which

steen, who had the patriotic spirit to vindicate our Republican institutions against the diagnating schemes of north ro demagogues.

But a Northern man also was listening with indigent astocial ment to Douglas's speech in favor of the New Sedsion Law; that was the brave John Hickman, of Pennsylvaria, the Anti-Lecompton Democrat, who believed what he said. And when he left the Senate Chamber he broke out in the words, "On thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the "days of thy life."

And well might he say so, for the proposition whispered into the ears of the fairest of our kind by the earpent of Paradise was hardly more infance and inferent than the proposition Douglas whispered in the case of the present generation.

Where did Mr. Douglas learn these doctrines? He has been in Europe. Unable to comprehend the means by which liberty is to be preserved in this country, he reams to have studied the means by which liberty is to be preserved in this country, he reams to have studied the means by which people are ens'aved there. Not in England but in France and Russia, he found much to admire. (I don't know whether he visited Austria and Naples.) He basked in the sumbire of the same of the Czar, Nicholas. The emiles of a deapot sank deeply into his heart, and this corspiracy bill grew out of it.

And this is your "greatest of living statesmen." If this is the ruling state smachip of our days, then good night, dearly-bought liberties! good night, bright American republic! good night, great beaxon of stragging humanity! If it is attassmanship to subvert the rinciples of the Constitution, undernime the liberties of the people, to place the security of the individual a the mercy of the central zed Government, then, indeed, he is one of the greatest, and his status deserves to be served adds by side with that of the illustrions Cataline of Rome and the patriotic Strafford of England. I do no fear that the man who made the infamous attempt will be elevated to the highest trust in this republic, for a just fa

Let me proceed: It would seem that the policy of a insidious schemes.

Let ne proceed: It would seem that the policy of a men who introduces and advocates such measures, must spring either from the profoundest igaorance of the principles upon which the liberty of men is maintained, or an icna e love of the principles by which the liberty of men is subverted. It will therefore, surpite you all it le when I tell you that Douglas's system of policy rests upon the basis of a profound philosophical doctrine concerning the only safe foundation upon which human liberty rests. It has slways struck me as very remarkable, and it may have occurred to a great many of you, that Mr. Douglas's mind, with all is scuteness and fertility and resources, is exceedingly barren in original conception. All the speeches he has delivered since 1854 carry the peculiar flavor of staleness about them. They contain nothing but some streetyed and somewhat commonplace ideas, played in a sonorous, mellow swell of language which derives its principal charm from the animal vigor and energy with which it is puffed out.

And here permit me to say, by the way, that in my humble judgment I consider him one of the most over estimated men in the country. But his speeches do contain one original id-a and I tell you that is a bright one; it belongs all to him; nobody ever advocated is before and nobody will hereafter. We have been la-

constant one original raw and the relation and its a original one; it belongs all to him; nobody ever advocated it before, and nobody will hereafter. We have been laboring under the impression that Douglas did not care whether Savery be voted up or down; but we must beg his pardon—it turns out that he does care; for the only original idea he can bosst of is that Slavery must only original rich to can losse of—variety. [Laughter.] Don't laugh, I pray you—it is a very serious matter—it is the fundament lprinciple upon which Mr. Donglas a whole states manhip rests; and as he is the greatest states man slive, it certainly deserves a serious consideration. He tells us that it is the very issue upon which he conducted the carvass in Illi ois in 1858—it. which he conducted the canvass in Illi ois in 1858—it is the very ground upon which he placed the necessity of his Conspiracy bill, and he has peddled it all over

of his Conspiracy bill, and he has peddled it all over the Union in numberless speeches.

The original id-a, as expressed in his own language, is simply this: 'I assert,' eaid he, in his speech opening the canvass of 1858. "that the great fundamental principle which under les our complex system of State and Federal governments, which implies diversity and dissimilarity in local institutions and domestic affairs of each and every State then in the Union, or thereafter to be advited. I therefore conceive that Mr. Lincoln has totally misapprehended the great principles upon which our Government rests. Uniformity is local and domestic affairs would be destructive of States' rights of States' across everinty—of personal literty and personal freedom. Wherever the doctrine of uniformity is proclaumed; that all the States must be free or slove; that all the disher must be white or black; that all the claber must be white or black; citizens of the different States must have the same privileges or must be ruled by the same regulations, you ileges or must be ruled by the same regulations, you have destroyed the greatest safeguards which our institutions have thrown around the rights of the citizen. From this view of the case I am driven irresistibly to the conclusion that diversity, dissimilarity, variety in all our local and domestic invitations is the great safeguard of our liberties. "I repeat that uniformity in our institutions is neither possible nor desirable."

This may could very profound, but it will not require many words to show you how exceedingly riliculeus it is. Whatever y ur opinions of the Judge's statesmarship may be, permit me to say that whenever he attempts to act the philosopher, he hecomes—not to put too fine a point apon it—very franty.

His argument is that there is a variety of interests or dome stic affairs in the country; that a variety of local institutions grows out of them; that upon this variety of its ilutions our federal system of government rests; that the federal system of government is the great safe-

that the federal system of government is the great safe-guard of our liberties; that consequently is order to preserve our liberties it is necessary to preserve a vari-ety of domestic affairs and local institutions. The ques-tion arises, if that variety of domestic affairs and local institutions did not exist, would that render the federal system of government impossible? With other words, would a people among whom there is no such variety of domestic affairs and local institutions be incapable of hat the federal system of government is the freedom?

The original States entered into a union as separate

orgenization - whether distinct and separate on the ground of a variety of interests, or for any other rea-ron, is needless to discuss; for if their institutions and con, is needless to discuss; for it their institutions and intercess had been ever so uniform, it is evident that they could and would not have consolidated. But a conclusive refutation of the Judge s theory lies nearer. The people of Ohio, Indiana, illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, are nearly all depending upon the same resurces—there States are all essentially agricultural, and, beaders, have some shipping interest upon the great lakes. Their domestic attains and local institugreat takee. Their douce the analys and local insista-tions are essentially the same. Their system of labor is the same—neither of them holds staves. The uni-formity of Free Labor was introduced there by the Ordinance in '87. According to the Judge's theory, it ey must conclude if there is among them no variety meetic affairs and local institutious which kee then sameer. It might be said that they cannot consolicate now on account of constitutional obstacles. Granted, for argument assists. But that wast extent of land was consultated once in one great, solid mass, called the North-Western Territory. Why did it not called the North-Western Territory. Why did it not remain cors lidated? Why was it cut up into different Territories and States, since their donestic interests were the same, their local jesti utions the same, their system of lidor the same? There was complete unifornity, and yet the very opposite of councidation. All these things remain \*seentially the same. And do they desire to consolidate? And is it necessary to make half of them Slave States in order to keep them sameer? It is preposterons. But this example shows that not Mr. Linooh, but Judge Douglas must have entailed in the second with the keures from which our political. irely misconcerved the source from which our political

That source is nothing else but the instinct of self-That source is nothing else but the instinct of selfgovernment animating our people. Why do we cut up
our States into counties and townshire—even its States
is which the interest and domestic affairs of the people
are everywhere quite uniform? For the simple reason
that the instinct of wilf government demands that all
the functions of sovereignty which the people can exercise by direct action should remain in the hands of the
people; and that all political power which cannot be
exercised by that direct action should be so organized
as to remain as near the original source of sovereignty
as possible. This renders necessary such divisions and
local organizations as will place the direct administration of the nearest home affairs a little more remote in general are intrusted to the State
Government, subject to the immediate contreats will more remote in general are put into the
hands of the People, while the affairs of interests will more remote in general are put into the
hands of the Federal Government. This ramification,
division, and subdivision of political power is carried hat de of the Federal Government. This ramilloation, division, and subdivision of political power is carried out no less where there is a uniformity of domestic affairs and local institutions, than where there exists variety. It will remain such just as long as the people insist up on administering these affairs by as direct an exercise of soverighty as possible and no longor. To pretend that this ramification of political power into a complex gradation of functions cannot exist without there being a variety of interests and domestic institutions would be to say that the people among whom there is no such variety cannot be free; and that is a nonsome would be to say that the people among whom there is no such variety cannot be free; and that is a nonsense which the mercet schoolboy would be ashamed of. But suppose, for argument aske, a variety of inter-ce a were really so great and indispensable a prop and

es a were really so great and indispensable a proposition of our institutions of self-government—is Judge Dibugias unsequainted with the difference between menufacturing Massachusetts and Connectiut and commercial New-York—between mining Pennsylvania and agricultural Illinois? But that variety does not seem to be sufficien for the Judge—there is still too much uniformity in it. He in sists that "where the dostrine "of uniformity is proclaimed all the States must be free or clave—that all labor must be white or

black." Our liberties must necessarily go by the total therefore we must have more variety. The variety of manefacturing and commercial, mining and agricultural products, is saily insufficient. He insure that there must be a little variety of Freedom and Slavery, of white and black labor; and that seems to be his favorite mixture? his cardinal, fundamental, sine quanton variety; and not only have we no right to establish uniform free labor by encroaching upon the rights of the States; but quite as a general thing, the extraction of his favorite variety, "would be neither possible for desirable." He declares it to be "a fatal heresy to "troclaim that there can or ought to be uniformity among the different States of this Union." It would, then, according to the Judge, not be desirable that free labor chould prevail everywhere, for that would oreate uniformity, and uniformity is the dearh of Freedom. And now mark that wonderful muddle of nonsense in the head of that "greatest of living statemen"—our liberties rest upon our Federal system of Government; our Federal system of Government rests upon

in the head of that "greatest of living statesmen"—
our liberties rest upon our Federal system of Government; our Federal system of Government rests upon
the variety of institutions; that variety of institutions
consists of there being Slavery in some of the States.
It Slavery disappeared, that variety would disappear;
if that variety disappeared, our Federal system of Government would disappear; if our Federal system of Government disappeared, the safeguards of our liberties would be destroyed—consequently, if Slavery disappears liberty disappears also.

Agsin, if all the States were free there would be uniformity; but uniformity in local and domestic affairs would be destructive of personal liberty—that uniformity is prevented by the existence of Slavery, consequently the existence of Slavery prevents the destruction of iberty; or liberty cannot be preserved but by the preservation of Slavery.

What benefactors of our humanity were those who introduced Slavery into this land? for they farmished the material out of which the necessary variety was made, without which our liberty cannot exist. If they had not done so, ther all the States would be free; there would be uniformity, and we would all be slaves! What nonsense to abolish the slave-trade! The more freedom.

How we must pity the unfortunate nations that have no Slavery among them; for they have no variety of institutions, and having no variety of institutions they can have no liberty. Poor people that have no slaves among hem; they can never be free!

It is a little surprising, however, that this great and inminous dectrine of "variety" should have been so little known about the time when our Government was organized and the Constitution framed. There were two individuals living then who enjoyed some little

Improve decirine of "variety" should have been so little known about the time when our Government was organized and the Constitution framed. There were two individuals living then who enjoyed some little reputation for stateguanship, one of whom said, "I "trust we shall have a Confederacy of Free Sates;" and the other said, "Nothing is more certainly written "in the Bock of Fate than that those people [meaning "the slaves] are to be free." And they were called statescen! What an immense progress we have made in these seventy years! They would be called simpletens or traitors now; for they either know nothing of the great dectrine of "variety"—which was very feelish—or, if they knew is, they plotted the destruction of popular freedom by advocating uniformity—which certainly was very treasonable. By the way, the name of one was George Washington, and the name of the other Thomas Jesferson. You will be obliged to confess that you were vary much mistaken in those two men. What a pty Judge Donglas did not li 'e in those days. How he would have knocked his great dectrine of variety about their ears! How he would have the taught Washington what the definition of our Federal system is! How he would have tood Jesferson what the great safeguards of liberty are!

But, slas! such statemen are sometimes born not only out season but also out of place. What a pity Judge Douglas does not live in Switzerland, the oldest Republic now extant. Those benighted people, the Swiss have been for centuries indulging in the foolish delusion that they were free, and that they had a federal system of government. Why there is no Stavery in Swi zerland—there is not the necessary variety of institution there. Their States are all Free States. There is uniformity there. How can they have federal institution there. Their States are all Free States.

institutions with uniformity? How can there be liberty without variety? Impossible. Poor, innocens souls! they think they are free, and have no slaves. Let the Judge go at once on a missionary expedition to liberate the Swiss. He will have an opportunity to try that other great original idea of his, that "any po-"litical creed must be radically wrong which cannot "be procained everywhere." I venture to predict that every honest Swiss boot will lift itself and kick the great variety Douglas respectfully from Alp to

Alp.

Now look at the s'range consequences into which his Now look at the 8 range consequences may what an arrive doctrine inevitably leads him. The necessity of preserving Slavery for the sake of Liberty—that is of preserving the variety of institutions—was the principal ground upon which he placed the necessity of passing his Conspirscy bill. The same man who tells us that Slavery must be preserved be ause its extinction would bring about uniformity which, in its turn, would would brite about uniformity which, in its turn, would produce a consolidated despotis government—the same man advocates the passage of a measure investing the government with powers which put it upon the courses of consolidation; for without the grant of these powers, without that act of consolidation. Slavery cannot be maintained. Slavery, according to him, must be preserved by a measure which is necessary to popular liberty; for if Slavery is not preserved uniformity will ensue and the liberties of the people will be in dapper. In other words, he tells us that the existence of Slavery is necessary for the preservation of our rights and liberties, and then he tells us that a measure undermining our rights and liberties is necessary for the preservation of Slavery. The variety must be kept up for the purpose of maintaining our liberties, and our liberties must be put down for the purpose of keeping the variety.

the variety.

We are, indeed, greatly indebted to Judge Douglas At last we know what Slavery is good for, and why the struction is Leither possible nor desirable. Even the black man, in his sufferings, will find a southing consolation in the Judge's phirocophy. When Sambo is flogged down South, and the whip Isserates his back, the benevolent Judge will tell the poor fellow that he has got to be whipped for the sake of variety benefits, and Sambo will smile in the sake of variety lengths, and Sambo will smile in the sake of con-

that he has got to be whitped for the sake of variety [laughter]; and Sambo will smile in the sweet consciousness of being whipped for a very great principle. [Renewed laughter] And when the Jodge Soill has passed, he has opened for you the prison cells wherein he blandly invites you "to drag out your miserable lives," you will with pride remember the old Roman proverb, "Dulce et decorum est patria more;" and improving upon the text you will extlaim "It is "nest eweet and honorable to die for varie y's sake." This, then, is Judge Dougles's philosophy of gove nment; not an idea occasionally dropped in a speech, but his great original conception. The shallow, rediculous, childish nor sense is what he emphatically proclains to be the furdamental doctrine of his while political wiscom! Oh, Douglas Democrats, how prond you must feel of your "greatest s'ateeman alive." Permi me to offer you, in the name of the R-publican par y, our sincerest cot gratulations.

Permi me to ofter you, in the name of the R-publican par y, our sincerest congratulations.

Gentlemen: You have accompanied my remarks with some evidence of morriment; and, indeed, it cannot be denied that there is some of the profundity of the illustrious Dogberry in Mr. Dougles's philosophical doctrines. But this ica serious matter. Do you not see that to some extent the honer of the country is involved in it? That gentleman stands before us as a candidate for the Presidency and he is represented to be the "greatest American statesman". And now, I entrest you, I implore you aclemally—for there is no man here who has the reputation of this country more deeply at heart than I have—I implore you, do not make this R-putlic ridiculous in the eyes of the whole world by attempting to crown that Dogberry statesmanship with the highest honors of the Republic. I am not jeeing; I am in deep and selemn earnest; for as not jeeing; I am in deep and sclemn earnest; for if you look over the list of those mea wto, since the oganization of the Republic, have been deemed wortay of a vote for the Presidency, you will find not one among them who has laid more insidious schemes to subsert the principles of the Constitution, who did not retain deemed the consciences of the woods, more to more to debauch the consciences of the people, more to bring American stateemanship into contempt than be No, I will not wrong Judge Douglas; there was one; I mean Aaron Burr. He was a more dangerous man, for be united to a deprayed heart a far superior understarding.

But, as to Judge Douglas, here I stand up before the

great jory of the sovereign people and bring my bill of indictn ent.

I arraign him for having changed his position in re-

gaid to the Misseuri restriction, time and sgain, ac-cording to the interests of Slavery. I arraign him for baving broken the elighted faith of

I arraign him for baving broken the elighted faith of the people by the repeal of the compromise of 1820. I arraign him for baving upbeld the most arroctous violations of the ballot-box; for having trampled upon the most secred rights of the people of Kanssa, so long as the struggle between Freedom and S.avery was doubtful. I arraign him for having committed a fraud upon the

people by forging and adulterating the principle of Popular Sovereignty, and making it the machine of Slavery propegandism.

I arraign him for having described the cause of Free

I arraign him for having deserted the cause of Free Kausas when the people, having complied with all responshie conditions, applied for admission unto the Union. I arraign him for having repeatedly made the attempt to disturb the system of constitutional checks and balances, by placing the war-making power in the hands of the President.

I arraign him for having attempted, by his conspiracies, a thing more outrageous than the Sedition Law of 1798, to put the liberties of speech and press at the merry of a political inquisition, and to make the judical persecution of opinions a standard system of policy. I arraign him, lastly, for having attempted to pass off upon the people the doctrines of political philosophy, which is an insuit to the popular understanding. No, I beg your pardon, I do not arraign him for that, for this is a free country, where everybody has a right to make himself as ristoulous as he pleases, "subject only

to the Constitution of the United States." [Lond is unbter.] And, yet, I arraign him for that also, for I protest that he has no right to make the Republic ridiculous with him.

Here is the charge. It is for the people to give the

ridiculous with him.

Here is the charge. It is for the people to give the vendict.

Gentlemen, will you have patience enough to listen to a few remarks about Douglas "the Presidential" candidate "? Well, after these exploits, he thought he was fit to be a Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and so his name went before the Charleston Convention. But, wonderful to tell, the whole Southern Democracy seemed to to annited against him; and I honestly declare I think the Slave Power did wrong. It might have found a more abject and less exacting tool, but it could hardly expect to find a more daring, recklers, and unscropulous one. What was the reason of their opposition? Was it the Constitutional quibbles about which they had been contending? The whole difference was merely imaginary. Was it the Slave-holders thought a man who had betrayed his own section of the country could not be refed upon in his promises to be faithful to another? That was more honorable than judicious in the Slave Power, governed by such a feeling. No, I think the true reason widely differs from this, and it shows that Mr. Douglas never had the sagacity enough to understand his own position. The slave power will sometimee, for expediency's sake, condescend to make a Northern man President, if he consents to be its unconditional tool, but it will never elevate one who aspires to be or become a leader of the party. Mr. Douglas ought to lave understood that. There was his mistake. However willing he may have been to serve them, he had to serve them not in his, but in their own way. He affected independence and he fell. I think the South sected against their own interest, for in Judge Dous last they would have hed a man in the Presidential Chair who would have he and a man in the Presidential Chair who would have he are not affected independence and he fell. I think the South sected against their own interest, for in Judge Dous last they would have he are not affected independence and he fell. I think the South sected against their own interes

But the mistake was committed. They opposed him to the last and Judgo Douglas saw that his nomination in Charleston was an impossibility. Then his friends moved an adjournment of the Convention, and carried it. They were to reseasemble at Bultimore a few weeks afterward. In the meantime, Mr. Douglas saw a last chance of appearing the South. He grasped at it with desperate agerness, and he saw the great prize slipping from his hands, and he staked his all upon a last cast. On the 15th and 16th of May, he arose in the Senate, and in one of the most claborate arcse in the Senate, and in one of the most elaborate afforts of his life, he made the following statement; and Douglas Democrats I claim your special attention.

"It is part of the listory of the country that under this doctrine of non-intervention—this doctrine that you delight to call Squatter Sovereignty—the people of New Mexico have introduced and protected Slavery in the whole of that Territory, under the doctrine they have converted a tract of free Territory into slave Territory incomes them five times the size of the State nave converted a tract of free territory into save fer-ritory more than five times the size of the State-of New-York. Under this doctrine Slavery has been extended not only up to 36° 30°, but up to 38°, giving you a degree and a half more of slave Territory than you ever claimed. "Whatever inch of free Territory bas been converted into slave Territory on the Austrian continent since the Revolution, except in

you ever claimed. "Whatever inch of free Territory has been converted into slave Territory on the American continest since the Revolution, except in New Mexic. and Virginia, under the principle of non-intervention affirmed at Charleston? If it be true that this principle of non-intervention bas protected Slavery in that comparatively Northern and cold region, where you did not expect it to go, cannot you trust the same principle further South, when you come to a quire additional Territory from Mexico? Will not the same principle protect in the Northern States of Mexico when they are acquired, since they are now surrounded by slave Territory?"

Oh, Douglas men, what a lesson is this! Did you not tell us that when the Nebraska bill was enacted, that this law was the most efficient way of introducing free labor into the Territories? Have you not most solemnly assured us every day since 1851 that the principle of Popular Sovereignty as expounded by Mr. Douglas would most certainly save all the Territories from the grasp of Slavery? And now look there! Your own master and prophet admits, acknowledges, and BOASTS of it—that this same principle gave to Slavery one and one-half degrees of lattinde more than it ever claimed, and that since the organization of the American Sepublic not a square foot of free territory was ever converted into alaxe territory, but by the same measure which you represented to us as the greatest and most reliable engine of free labor? Your own master and prophet tells you in your own faces, and in the face of all mankind, and in the face of posterity, that you have been lying most atrociously—life every day for the last six years. This was unkind—was it not, Douglasites of the North?

No; I am not joking. It was terribly onkind. All he said was most ce tamly, most undoubtedly, most uncontrovertably true; but. I declare that if he had the least regard for them feelings of his friends—the least sympathy for them in their awkward embarrassments—be he ought to have been the last on earth to make east echo in his heart, he cught to have been the last men to do so. But that heart seems to be so filled with calloused telfi-horse—so destitute of the generous im-pulses of human nature—that if his friends, like B odcanoused felli-index—so destitute of the generous in-pulses of homan nature—that if his friends, like B od-eri k, die for him, he coldly disowns them; and if they lie for him, he promptly puts them to shame. Disowns them, and puts them to shame. And for what? For the purpose of retrieving the lost favors of the South; regaining the lost smiles of the Slave Power, to be sac-rificed to them. Was that the reward you had deserved

Leck at it egain. See he stands before the slave-holders in the Senate of the United States busy bargaining away your henor for their favors. "Who has "ever served you more faithfully than I with my great principle?" he asks them. "Why not let my "friends in the North preach up that principle as the pioneer of freedom? The fools, perhaps, believing in what they say, but we know better. Do you not see the resolt? Why not permit me the innocent jeke of hambecaling the people of the North into be "leving that I am the great Champ on of Freedom?" Ah Dooglas men, what a sight is this? He has prostituted you, and now proclaims your disgrace. How do you like the attitude in which he has placed you? How do you like the pillory to which, with his own hand he has nailed your ears? And you are willing to stand there—stand there quietly in the eyes of maakind! Do you not so metimes hear an earnest voice speaking within you speaking of a self-respect and the natural dignity of man? Does it never tell you that the fairest blush of shame would be an ornament to the fair at blub h of shame would be an ornament to your cheeks? My friends, I love to esteem all that bears the attributes of human nature; but if sometimes, a an unguarded moment, a cloud of contempt arises in my sud, it is at the aspect of this gratuitous self-d-gradation, for which even ignorance and error can

Lock at it sgain. See he stands before the slave-

degradation. for which even ignorance and error can hardly serve as an excuse.

See there your master and prophet, prostrating himself before the Slave-power—in the dust, before your proud opponents! You can no longer say you stand by him, for since that day he does not stand up himself. If you are with him still there, at the foot of the Slave-power, where he lies, you lie with him. And what did the slaveholders do after he had so meanly humiliated himself, and prostrated his frieuds? Did they eni's upon him? Aye, they did, with scorn, and said, "We loved thy treason well enough," but we spurn with contempt the traitor;" and there he lies still. e lies still. The time of the Baltimore Convention arrived, and

The time of the Baltimore Convenion across the struggle recommenced. It became at once wanifest that Douglas's nomination could not be forced up not be Democratic party without splitting that organization in twain; and he saw clearly enough that would be an impossibility. The genization in twein; and he saw clearly enough that then his election would be an impossibility. The South was secreting en masse, and leaving the rump Convention to do as it pleased. Then Mr. Douguas, a-viug a diagraceful defeat inevitable, wrote a letter to his friends in the Convention, requesting them to withdraw his name if they found it in any way consistent to do so. And I declare, if Douglas was ever honest in anything he did or said, I believe he was honest then and there.

Bu now the moment had arrived when it became manifest that there is justice in history. Douglas's po-

But now the moment had arrived when it became manifest that there is justice in history. Douglas's position was disgusting, but his punishment was subline. Then his friends for the first time refused to obey his command. Those whom he had used so often and so long for his own advancement saw now there was a last chance of using him for theirs. They said to him, "We have performed our part of the contract; now you have to perform yours. We have nominated you have to perform yours. We have nominated on the first him to be elected Congressmen, Sheriffs, County Clerks, or Constables, on the strength of your name. There is no backing out. Ho! for the spoils!"

Don't thou think because thou hast suddenly become virtuous, There shall be so more cakes and sie!

Yes, by Sair Ann! so singer but in the mouth, too!"

[Prolonged laughter.]

And so the saddle of the rump nomination is put upon his back, and the whole ghastly pack of office-hunters jump upon it. The spurs are put to the flanks—the whip applied to the back of the panning, bleeding jade, and so the spectral ride goes, cast and west, night and day—and may the steed go to perdition, if only the ridors reach their goal. [Loud applause and cheers.]

Oh there is justice in history. He has at least the

idel of his dreams—the object of his fondest wistenger, which he has haid so many a troscherous achous—for which he has turned so many a troscherous achous—for which he has struck so many a how at the prace of the Edphölo, for which he has togged so many a loafer, and insulted ac meny an houset man, for which he made every rum shop his bead quarters and every rum and iffered—he has at last the nomination for the Presidency, but what he has craved as a bleesing has come down upon him as a curse; to be nominated, and knew that an election is impossible! to be voted for, and to know that every vote for him is for Breckinnides at Lane, whom he hates, and every vote against him a vote for Lincoln, whom he does not love! To be voted for, and be aware that those who vote for him work not for him but for themselves! To be dead and yet living enough to be conscious of death! On, there is justice in history! Am I axaggerating! Where is that mighty leader, whose voice once called millions into the field? At the street corners and created you see him standing like a blind, do worfalles Bellisarius—not in virtue, not in poverty—a bery of political barlots surrounding him, and begging for the miserable obolous of a vote; begging the K.a. whom he once affected to deepise; begging the Whigs, whom he once insulted with his brawling dominical barlots. The party harlots that surround him with their clamorous begging cry, steal every vote they receive for him, and put it into their own pockets.

Where is the bold, powerful agitator, whose voice sounded so defantly on every contested field? Behold him on his sentimental journey, vainly trying to field him on his sentimental journey, vainly trying to field him on his sentimental journey, vainly trying to field him on his sentimental journey, vainly trying to field him on his sentimental journey, vainly trying to field him on his sentimental journey, vainly trying to field him on his sentimental journey, vainly trying to field him on his sentimental journey, vainly trying to field hi

——"Till Birnam wood
Do hie to Dunstoane hill,
Should come sgainst him." Like Macbeth, he has believed the fiends "That pattered with him in a double sense,"
and there he stands, tied to the stake of his nomination

But as Birram Wood marshed to Donsinane, so the very fence rails of Illinois are rushing down upon him tremendous laughter, and cheers], and like Macdeff, there rises against the spirit of free labor, one where children he has murdered, and that is a champion "not of woman born." [Laughter.] And now "On, Macduff;

And damned be he who first cries hold—enough."

Renewed laughter, and cheers.] Oh, there is justice

Renewed laughter, and cheers.] Oh, there is justice in history. [Cheers.]

The same betrayal of the Free Labor cause—the Nebrseka bill, which was to be his stepping store to power, proved to be the abyes which engalied his hover, his manhood, his strength and his hopes. There are those who mean to reverse the judgment of history. Vain undertaking! That man is marked by the hand of eternal retribution. On his very front stands the fatalitouch. Do not attempt to arrest the hand of Sapreme justice. You cannot save him from his ruin. Why are you congret to share his diagrace? Leaders of the Doughas Democracy, what means your empty bravado of strength? You cannot deceive others; why are you working so hard to deceive yourselve? You know that your orators are but endeavoring to guivanize a dead body into artificial life. You are well a ware that your mass meeting demonstrations are nothing but huge galvanic batteries at play. What mas a your desperate attempt to gue your broken fortunes; who way to cheat destiny out of its dues? Is it your ambition to have your descendants read in the history of our days there were men living in 1860 that with instincts so deprayed that when they could not accomplish that which was evil, they endeavored, at least, to prevent that which was good.

And you who are warned by this sacred voice of conscience that you are doing wrong in adhering to Douglas, and yet obey the command of party, hear me: Is this party drill a discipline so camipotent an idol that you well sacrifice upon its atts your ladependence, your manhood and all that constitutes your moral worth?

And you who claim the exclusive privilege of swearing by the Constitution and the laws, will you stamping the constitution and the laws,

moral worth?

And you who claim the exclusive privilegs of swearing by the Constitution and the laws, will you stamp the evidences of hypocrisy upon your brow by tadirectly indorsing him who has done more than any other living man to undermine the Constitution and pervert the laws? Will you permit your political hucksteres to barter away not only your votes, but your ongsciences and your bonor ?

But let the conspirators come on: we defy them. Go on with your coalitions, which are made the distant anderstanding that those who unite to-day are to obest each other to-morrow. Has it become a ruing prisciple in your parties that the "rank and file have ne rights which the leaders are bound to respect?" You will find out your mistake. Look around you. Do you see thousands leaving your banners, unwilling to submit to your treacterous scheme to rob the people of their elections. Do you know what they made it.

enbmit to your treacterous scheme to rob the people of their elections. Do you know what that means? It means that the man rises above the partisan. It means the revival of conscience in our politice. It is the true sovereignty of the people vindicating itself. [Cheera.] Now, build up your mole-hils, and call them impregnable fortreases. It seems you do not know how small they are. The logic of things will not roll its massive will over them. Your pucy contrivances will leave no trace behind to tell your deleful story. Sir. only those whose hears are unmoved by great moral impulses can fail to see that we are in the midst of a great moral revolution. They cannot prevent final victory; I firmly believe they cannot retard it. No, they are aiding it in spite of themselves for their general rottenness demonstrates its necessity. Douglas himself is powerfully premoting its progress. He has

of a great moral revolution. They cannot prevent final victory; I firmly believe they cannot retard it. No, they are aiding it in spite of themsel res; for thair general rottenness demonstrates its necessity. Douglas bimself is powerfully promoting its progress. He has taught the people of America a great, sublime leason.

I think it was Senator Pugh who once said that if Douglas were atruck down by the South he weeld take his bleeding corps; and show it to the youth of the North-West as an example of Southern gratitud. Let that modern Mark Antony come is with his dead Crear (pardon me, it is neither Caesar dead nor Mark Antony living), let him bring in his bleeding corps, and I would suggest the funeral oration. Let him say to the youth of the American Republic: "This is Douglass. Look at him. For every wound the South inflicted upon him, he has struck a blo w at the liverties of his countrymen. Let him serve as a warning example that a man may be a traitor to liberty, and yet to become a favorite of the slave power. Mark him. By false Popular Sovereignty at the cole. "we himself; a true Popular Sovereignty strikes him down." [Lond applane]

If the youth of America profit by this lesson, than it may be said that even Douglas has done some cervice to his country. [Laughter.] Then peace be with him—his mission is fulfilled.

But now we have to fulfill ours. False Popular Sovereignty is down. Freemen, it is for you to see to it, that true Popular Sovereignty triumph.

Citizens of New-York, when after the adjournment of the Convention which nominated that great and good man, Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency, I addressed the people of my Sate again for the first time. I said to them: "Let Wisconsin stretch her hand "acrose the great lakes and grasp the hand of New-York. Let it be known that New-York and Wisconsin, who stood together to the last for Seward in the Convention, will stand first and forement the "certified of Lincoln and Liberty." Wisconsin will redeem her pledge on the 6th of November. Man effectived

ceived by the meeting when he was first introduced increased when he began to speak of the Little Giant his manner adding much to the metter of the speech. As he continued to make his telling points, his prepa-sersing delivery and his slightly Gorman account seemed to find increased favor with his vast army of auditors; and as he exposed, one after another, the daplicities and the pretensions of the "Little Sucker," the ag planse and laughter rose beyond all bounds.

The great mass of the audience were chain his logic, which stripped the Douglas of his plumes with mercilees coolness, while the calcies of wis with which it was interspersed relieved it from the danger of proving wearisoms to any of the boys who do the

hard work of the campaign.

Especially was the repetition of the phrases, the "true champion of Freedom," and the "greatest of "living statemen," the occasion for trespressible and prolonged laughter. Mr. Schurs's heaves were at